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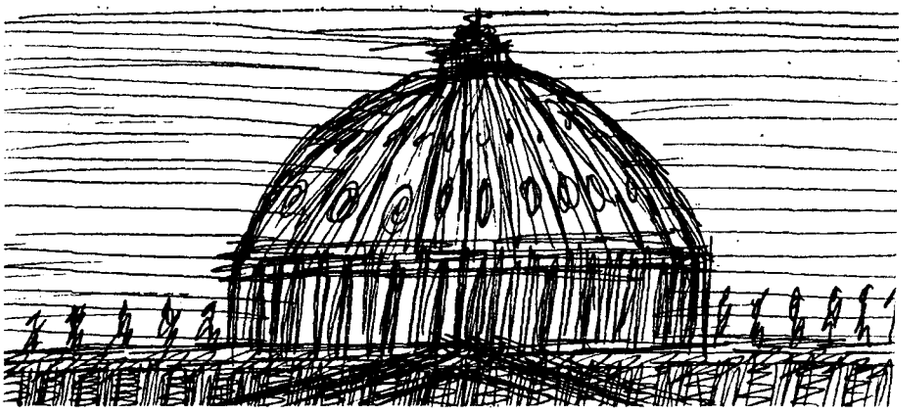

ON THE MODERN WORLD

The Council discussion of Schema 13 and of the Jews

Gregory Baum

DEMOCRATIC REVOLUTIONS

Rafael Caldera

A POST-WAUGH INSIGHT

J. M. Cameron

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NEWS & VIEWS

"Peace Comes to St. John's", a story put out last May by NCWC and dealing with the two-year faculty-Vincentian dispute at the nation's largest Catholic college, was not widely believed outside NC offices. The conflict has worsened. The president of the university, Father Edward T. Burke, C.M., was abruptly removed during the summer, and replaced by Father Joseph T. Cahill, who has proved just as intransigent.

In his first press conference, Father Cahill spoke of our time as "an age of rebellion" and recalled the distinction between "freedom and license." Student freedom was vaguely defined, but will not include the right to wear a beard. No one whose views are at variance with Catholic doctrine will be allowed to speak on campus. On the central issues of administrative paternalism, he said the faculty would have "some say" on policy matters, which the faculty leaders denounced as a retreat from a promise by the trustees that teachers would *determine* educational policy.

The trustees themselves have been a problem, since almost all have been Vincentians drawn from the St. John's administration—a slightly unprofessional practice which protected the narrow base of authority. Under criticism, the trustees have been replaced. Now only one is from St. John's, but *all* are Vincentian priests.

The growing militancy of the faculty led to picketing of the University at the start of the fall term (despite a flat announcement by the administration that "There will be no picketing"). Evasions by the administration have driven the AAUP chapter, the larger and more moderate of the two faculty groups, closer to the harder line of the union, St. John's chapter of the United Federation of College teachers, which the administration has refused to deal with—or even to admit is there.

On the issue of academic freedom, the administration is finally willing to adopt a twenty-five-year-old AAUP position paper "subject to certain specific reservations or modifications which may be necessary by reason of the nature of St. John's as a Catholic university confided to the direction of the Vincentian Fathers."

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On the Rapid Development of Pope Paul:

"(The birth control decision), like the other fundamental questions facing

Courtesy The Realist

"You former Christ-killer!"

the church, is in the hands of the enigmatic Paul. . . . (High Vatican officials) expect a typically Pauline pronouncement open to various interpretations."

Newsweek, Sept. 20

"He had been described as a Hamlet Pope in the Ecumenical Council. . . . But now he had shown himself to America and to the world as a vigorous, independent-minded pontiff, very much his own man, free finally from the shadow of his widely revered predecessor, John XXIII."

Newsweek, Oct. 18

"Following upon John XXIII's pontificate, will Paul VI's enter history less as a logical succession than as a labyrinthine rebuttal? The two men stand, of course, in stunning contrast. . . ."

Emmet Hughes, *Newsweek*, Sept. 20

"There is no longer any need to shy from all comparisons with John XXIII as ungenerous. . . ."

Emmet Hughes, *Newsweek*, Oct. 18

•

The conservative Catholic press has managed to swallow Pope Paul's endorsement of the U.N. without flinching. There was, however, a tendency to seek relief by playing the visit as a trip to America, with a stop at the U.N. as a benevolent afterthought.

The Los Angeles *Tidings*, a pillar of anti-U.N. sentiment, made the transition without breaking stride. Columnist George N. Kramer thought the key to the speech was that the U.N. must pay attention to principle. The local *Question Box* man, in response to a triumphant letter from a local liberal, recalled that he had been for the U.N. all along.

The Brooklyn *Tablet* printed the story straight, but rallied the following week to deny that the Pope had implied anything at all about Red China when he advised the U.N. to "study the right method of uniting in your pact of brotherhood and loyalty, those who do not yet share in it." The *Tablet* quoted approvingly the New Bedford *Standard Times*, which reflected that the key words "brotherhood," "honor" and "loyalty" actually meant that the Pope was in favor of keeping China out.

National Review called the visit an "inspirational blitzkrieg" and deplored the fact that the inspiration, alas, had to be put into words, "words which the polemical opportunists will seize upon for their own ends." The magazine thought that a good many of these words were mere diplomatic niceties, and observed that the Pope "cannot make you love the United Nations, or the World's Fair." The editorial concluded: "On returning to the Vatican, the Pope wisely said: 'It is not the duty nor the intention of the Church to enter the political and economic fields of the temporal world.' Amen."—which sounds like a new mutation of *Mater si, Magistra no.*

JOHN LEO

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CORRESPONDENCE

"Post-Seminary Thoughts"

Manhasset, N.Y.

To the Editors: About Michael Novak's reasonable and amiable critique of the seminaries: my general satisfaction is marred by only one specific misgiving, but that is a total one. The notion that "if Thomism is kept in the seminaries, someone ought to prepare a twentieth-century textbook without a single direct reference to Aquinas . . . but accounting for those of his basic insights which are now living elsewhere in contemporary thought" is an idea whose implications seem to me (although I am not a Thomist) wholly at odds with a major necessity in seminary reform. That is the necessity of much greater intellectual depth in the philosophic and theological culture imparted to clerical students.

Depth of this sort can have, of course, no infallible curricular guaranties, but among the helps that normally foster it I should give high priority to the extensive and critical reading of those relatively few classically original works that have been produced by philosophers and theologians of the first rank. That Thomas Aquinas may be included among the latter I presume to be beyond doubt.

Most seminarians have done, and have been encouraged to do, very little of such reading, and I believe that a conspicuous philistinism has resulted both from that lack and from the alternative concentration upon textbooks of which even the best partake of the staleness and superficiality characteristic of second-hand speculative thought. Meetings with dead geniuses have been too often precluded by the introductions of living bores.

Moreover, even were the proposed textbook to meet high standards for its kind, a system of exclusive concentration upon Thomas' "insights which are now living elsewhere in contemporary thought" should at least hesitate over the possibility that some of his insights

(*Continued on page 131*)

NEWS & VIEWS: 110
EDITORIALS: 111
A POST-WAUGH INSIGHT: *J. M. Cameron* **114**
AN END TO ISOLATIONISM?: *James O'Gara* **116**
ON THE MODERN WORLD: *Gregory Baum* **117**
DEMOCRATIC REVOLUTIONS: *Rafael Caldera* **120**
THE SCREEN: *Philip T. Hartung* **124** **THE STAGE:** *Wilfrid Sheed* **125**
CORRESPONDENCE: 111 **BOOKS: 126**

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THE DOMESTIC RECORD

These days it is difficult to deny President Johnson anything, and not least is the great credit due his Administration and the 89th Congress for the outstanding domestic record of this session. In all, Congress has completed final work on 18 major bills dealing with such wrangled-over items as school aid, immigration, Medicare. The balance sheets of the New Deal and Fair Deal have been virtually wiped clean.

Meanwhile, the White House keeps a close eye on the still booming economy, and what is more important, during the steel dispute, staked out an active role for government in insuring that it continues on its healthy course. If foreign policy still eludes the creative forces so abundantly present in the Johnson Administration, it is not for want of success domestically. The importance of this for a modern industrial nation cannot be underestimated, for it frees the U.S. as no other major power today, or possibly in history, to pursue a forthright and comparatively disinterested policy abroad.

Barring anything short of a political disaster, the Democratic party will enter the 1966 elections in excellent shape. With Republicans reduced to hand-me-downs such as "guns or butter," "federal Santa Claus," and other nightwords of bafflement, the liberal center stands on the threshold of making good on its promises for a decent society for all Americans. However, as stunning as the accomplishments of this session are, they can no more produce a good society than civil rights legislation can produce "equality of results" for the Negro, as opposed to "equality of opportunity."

Two Administration defeats of this session, on the repeal of the 14(b) section of the Taft-Hartley Law and "Home Rule" for the District of Columbia, point to some basic problems that still must be overcome if even the best of social legislation is to have an impact on America. Similarly, failures on the local level of the poverty program are due to many of the same problems. On one side of the coin, there remains the immense

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power of old political forces to frustrate application of federal legislation at the individual level; on the other side, there is the great weakness of the unorganized segments of this country.

The labor unions behind the repeal bill are no doubt still dazed by its complete collapse. Its potential effect on the right-to-work Southern states, where unionization may well be the factor needed to propel Negroes and poor whites into the affluent society, remains a great unknown. But it had the quality of going to the roots and touching daily lives. As we mentioned in these columns Oct. 15, the will and the ability to "channel the economy's growth into the pockets of the wage earner, the consumer and those who need it most, is yet to be proved." The defeat of "Home Rule" is another example of the ease and callousness with which the unorganized and unrepresented can be deprived while a Democratic majority sits in Congress.

In New York, Chicago, Los Angeles, ironically, the prerogatives of local government have been argued to the same effect by the Powells, Daleys, Yortys, so that the whole poverty program stands in grave danger. The shibboleths of righteous legislators have pretty well made the Aid to Dependent Children program a malefactor in fragmenting the Negro family; patronage myths that allow federal judgeships to go to segregationists like Mississippi's Coleman, incompetents like Massachusetts' Morrissey, and irresponsibles like Dallas' District Attorney Wade, give pause to any optimism one might feel about the solidity of recent victories.

It is largely myth, the political cliché, unfounded middle-class fears, rather than genuine social contradictions, that hamper the pacification of the South and the relief of the Northern ghettos. The country has the economic means to achieve virtually full employment, which would go far to improve the lot of all citizens. Money is available for federal programs, more money than the government knows what to do with. What is needed are political solutions to what are essentially political problems. The likeliest beginning might be the 1966 Congressional elections, when Johnson Democrats can go to the country free to talk sense to the American people.

DECLARATION ON THE JEWS

The final statement on the Jews was neither the best nor the worst of the various drafts to come before the Vatican Council. Nevertheless, it is clear and emphatic and should be of immeasurable help in tearing the roots of anti-Semitism out of Christian tradition.

Objections to the final statement, in the last analysis, are objections to the parliamentarism out of which it came. A statement could have been imposed from above, as has happened in many a Council. In this one, the statements reflected consensus, and consensus always implies that the final product falls short of what the most enlightened of the drafters regard as ideal. (Why this ordinary give-and-take should even be necessary among the bishops on such a basic matter of doctrine is a separate question. In fact, the Council, like the American Congress, includes highly placed intransigents who devotedly nudge the consensus away from the ideal.)

Simple parliamentarism, then, explains the long delay, which has already blunted much of the statement's intended effect. It also explains why the irrelevant feelings of Arab leaders were regarded by a small minority as a meaningful factor. One can be utterly depressed by this fact, as we are, while at the same time admitting the limitations of gaining consensus among 2,000 bishops of varying cultural outlook and varying worries about misinterpretations of the text.

As we said, the final version is neither the best nor the worst. The offensive "conversionist" sentiment is now gone, but so are the explicit use of the word "deicide" and any explicit note of Chrsitian guilt at what Christians have done to Jews in the name of religion. Cardinal Bea, whose intentions cannot be questioned, had to choose between forcing the "deicide" condemnation through—at the inevitable cost of several hundred votes—and dropping the word, but not the general sentiment, in order to produce an overwhelming vote.

We are told that the decision was forced on him, first, in regard to "deicide," because several bishops feared that a flat denial of deicide suggested that the Church no longer saw Christ as the Son of God, and secondly, that the word "condemn" as the Church's stance toward prejudice, be changed to "deplore," on the reasoning that *"damnare"* is a word Councils have usually reserved for heresies. These reasons do not strike us as convincing. The latter one appeared only at the last minute and has all the earmarks of a rationalization.

Still, it is not accurate to say the statement has been "emasculated." The statement is a fine one. It suffers only from the incredible delay, and from comparison with last year's statement, which was better. The present version *does* explicitly reject the idea that Christ's suffering and death can be attributed even to all Jews of his time, let alone Jews of today. It says that the Jews must not be portrayed as accursed. It sets itself against

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"hatred, persecutions, displays of anti-Semitism, directed against Jews at any time and by anyone." The Church is, at last, firmly on record in a statement that should have profound influence on the life of Catholics.

TO THE POLLS

Elections have been going or coming in half a dozen nations around the globe. Germany contentedly rearranged the status quo as little as possible, while Norway turned out a Labor party which had dominated the government for 30 years. Mr. Lester Pearson decided that a quick election would do Canada (and the Liberal party he leads) a world of good, so Canadians go to the polls in November. But the interesting elections have been held in parts of the world Americans are more likely to associate with coups, riots and revolutions.

The first of these occurred in Brazil, a nation under a military government liberal enough to allow elections clearly indicating that the masses are not happy with the current direction of things. Brazil's elections for state governors were an overwhelming victory for the furthest left candidates permitted to run, those associated with former President Kubitschek who is personally banned from political activity by the present regime. Whether the military government of Castelo Branco will now submit to right-wing pressures and amend the direct voting procedures for next year's presidential election is still undecided. The U.S. is heavily committed to the present Brazilian regime; if the will of the Brazilian people is thwarted in future elections, that commitment ought to be clearly and immediately revised.

In Africa, two elections of considerable interest took place. Tanzania held its first election under a new system which proposed to maintain both the principle of free choice and the continuity of a one-party state. Such a combination sounds more than faintly suspicious to Western ears, accustomed by sad experience to the pious talk often surrounding the brutal and repressive reality of one-party states. But the Tanzanian election, at this distance anyway, appeared to be different. In any constituency where more than one candidate for the national assembly was nominated, the national party would support two men equally, allotting them the same campaigning time and publicity, and forbidding private campaigning and expenditures. This scheme, pretty enough on paper, seems to have worked in practice. Real opposition was present; and nine government ministers lost their seats.

Ironically, the elections in Nigeria—often touted as Africa's best hope for parliamentary government—looked more like the Democratic primary in Mississippi. As though out to convince the political forces of Nigeria's west and south that they didn't have a chance short of secession, the conservative northerners' National Nigerian Democratic party proved itself neither national nor democratic. Reports of the western regional elections do more than suggest outrageous rigging, ballot-box stuffing, and intimidation.

Despite such behavior, it is worthwhile to recall the importance that open, if not entirely fair, elections do have throughout the world. The over-reaction from unfortunate attempts to foist exact replicas of European political institutions on the rest of the world is to come to believe that elections, free discussion, and representative government have no relevance at all to non-European politics. Nothing could be further from the truth. There are plenty of people on every continent who would rather vote than shoot to get across their point of view.

VIETNAM PROTESTS

The civil rights movement has taught the nation many lessons: that a dedicated minority group of activists can significantly influence the national consensus; that picketing and demonstrations can effectively bring hidden sores to a head; that it is sometimes necessary to break laws to dramatize a point; that a scream gains more attention than a balanced whisper. In the case of civil rights, the lesson was not always well received. It generated violent reactions, worries about the fate of the democratic process and, sometimes, fratricidal battles within the movement itself. But it worked, and one can well doubt whether the civil rights bills of 1964 and 1965 would have been possible without the demonstrations of the past few years.

Can the same lesson be applied to the war in Vietnam? That is the implicit assumption, we would guess, behind those groups who have taken to the streets to effect a change in Administration policy. So far the results are not encouraging. The main result of those who have chosen the burning of draft cards as a symbol of protest has been the passage by Congress of a harsh and vindictive law punishing those who do so. The number of news stories about Vietnam protests has easily been matched by stories about the disgust of servicemen in Vietnam that such things should be happening at home. James Reston has reported (not very convincingly) that Hanoi has been encouraged by the protests into believ-

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ing that America will soon tire of the war; this, he thinks, points to the disastrous effects of the demonstrations in intensifying a problem they are supposed to relieve.

In short, where the civil rights movement was able to transcend the negative reaction, the Vietnam protest movement seems only to have solidified and added to the support of the Administration. Even worse, it has encouraged those who see the specter of Communist subversion under every liberal placard into pressing for witch hunts; and it now looks as though there will be some.

With all these things in mind, it is not easy to defend the demonstrators—on both theoretical and practical grounds their tactics strain the sympathy of potential supporters. Nonetheless, they deserve considerable praise. They have succeeded, for one thing, in pointing out the existence of very real moral issues: napalm bombing, Administration deceits, steady escalation of the war, the abysmal nature of the regime which rules South Vietnam. For another, the very violence of the reaction to their protest has been revealing. It strongly suggests that a good portion of the public and of the lawmakers has already been caught up in the psychosis of war and that the sickness is spreading. Thus we are increasingly being told that the time for public discussion has passed, that dissension at home hurts the war effort, that protest is tantamount to treason.

There may be much better ways of bringing the issues before the public. But if so, we wish someone would show us what they are and how well they can be expected to work.

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FROM BRITAIN

A POST-WAUGH INSIGHT

One of the consolations of being back in England is that every Saturday one is able to read the current issue of *The Tablet*. This is the best of the Catholic weeklies. Its political comment is calculated to drive to fury persons like myself whose sympathies are on the whole with the Left; but it is intelligent and temperate in its comment, and the editor is notably hospitable to a great variety of views when it comes to printing letters for publication.

For some time now there has been an impassioned exchange of views on the recent changes in the liturgy. Those who are highly critical of the changes sometimes have "good" addresses, often of the country-house kind, and do not conceal their opinion that the changes, and especially the change to the vernacular, have been brought about through the action of cranky pressure groups anxious to curry favor with a democratic, egalitarian and vulgar society. They profess a kind of spiritual Toryism that is not, one feels, altogether unconnected with their social and political prejudices. That they are conceivably engaged in a movement of resistance to the action of the Holy Spirit in the Church never seems to cross their minds as even a faintly possible hypothesis. They are great men for tradition (in the cultural rather than the theological sense), for stability, for the European in rather the sense Belloc gave to it in his disastrously influential book, *Europe and the Faith*.

Here is Mr. Auberon Herbert, for example, writing from Pixton Park, Dulverton: "For centuries the traditional Latin Mass brought the past into focus with the present, and past and present into focus with the future. It made us aware of our part and place in a vast and eternal spiritual continuity. By contrast, the changes have introduced an atmosphere of empiricism and of the ephemeral, where unquestioning, unchanging steadfastness was the rule."

Some of these letters are pieces for the connoisseur of obscurantism. One of the finest examples comes from Combe Florey House, Near Taunton. It appears in the current *Tablet* of 18 September and is signed by a Mr. E. Waugh. The editor has given it the title "Some Modest Proposals from Illinois" and it refers to Father John J. Ryan's article in the issue of COMMONWEAL of 20 August. (It seems likely that Mr. E. Waugh is in fact Mr. Evelyn Waugh, the novelist, but the identity of the writer is not a matter of any great importance.)

Of course, Father Ryan's article is plainly open to criticism—what article on the liturgical reforms of the future wouldn't be?—and I am not myself much disposed to accept his general line. But for Mr. Waugh the article is not an argument on liturgical reform from which he dissents, but something much more interesting; it is evidence for the existence of an underground conspiracy to cheat unsuspecting Catholics out of their religious heritage. He concludes his letter, having given some account, with illustrative quotations

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(I shall have something to say presently about this account and about Mr. Waugh's use of quotations), of Father Ryan's article, with the following remarkable words [my italics]: "Those who are curious to follow Fr. Ryan's catechetical ambitions at length may do so in COMMONWEAL. . . . Others may be content to accept these few extracts *as a warning of the underground movement active almost everywhere in the Church* which is far from being a bogyman imagined by the traditionalists."

(Rereading this last sentence, I begin to wonder if it can possibly have been written by Mr. Evelyn Waugh whose severe attention to the English language gives such pleasure to his readers. Certainly, there are people who think the Church *is* "a bogyman imagined by the traditionalists," but these can scarcely be those who are exhorted to find in Father Ryan's article an awful warning. At any rate, I construe the sentence on the supposition that Mr. E. Waugh is a fallible mortal who has slipped up in his punctuation or got his "which" in the wrong place; that is, he is saying that there really is an underground, that it isn't something he has imagined, and that Father Ryan's article is evidence for its existence.)

Mr. Waugh's prose may be sloppy here; but the thought he wishes to convey is so queer that it would be hard to characterize it as sloppy or firm, clear or obscure. Here is a man, to wit, Father Ryan, who writes an article for all the world to read and gets it printed in COMMONWEAL. It is very hard that he should then be accused of being a secretive and conspiratorial fellow helping to run an underground movement. Mr. Waugh may say that he doesn't accuse Father Ryan of this. What, then, does he mean by treating his article as evidence for the existence of this underground? Who are its members? What are they up to? Does he think they have hoodwinked the majority at Vatican II? Was Pope John XXIII a member? Are the French Dominicans in it? the Lyons Jesuits? the monks of Maria Laach? the Mayor of Florence?

Mr. E. Waugh should really be careful. Not only has he delusions about a conspiratorial underground that is so simple-minded as to publish uncoded articles in COMMONWEAL. He is so gripped by the hypothesis, that he has slipped up in his reading as well as his writing. He systematically misreads Father Ryan's article. If one thought Mr. E. Waugh a bad man one would say he had done it on purpose. Let us instead conjecture that he was very excited when he read the article.

I have found the following misrepresentations in Mr. Waugh's letter. 1) He quotes Father Ryan as saying that "the *Gloria* is a 'curious thing.'" This is false. What Father Ryan says is that to "bless" God (in the current translation) is a curious thing; and so it is in modern English. 2) He quotes Father Ryan as saying that the Canon is "an obscure and puzzling list of Roman worthies." What he wrote was, of course, that the Canon contains such a list. 3) He quotes Father Ryan as wishing to change the words "low obedience, duty, virtue" for "encounter, commitment and involvement." What he wrote was: "We hear less talk today of 'law' and 'obedience,' 'duty' and 'virtue,' more of 'encounter,' 'commitment,' 'involvement.'"

Moving On

Two things especially scandalize Mr. Waugh. First, Father Ryan's contention "that the things of this world are already fundamentally, inchoately those of 'the world to come.'" It is surprising (or is it, given the Platonizing, "spiritual" version of Christianity that has debilitated us for so long?) that he fails to catch this reference to our faith in the resurrection of the body, with all it implies. Then, there is Father Ryan's excellent suggestion that in time to come we may preface the eucharistic assembly with a kind of "town meeting" in which the members of the assembly "would discuss their needs as men, as persons, as families, as workers, as a parish . . . discuss their worries and their burdens." And so on.

What on earth, one might ask, is heretical or ignoble or misconceived about this? Mr. Waugh doesn't tell us. Perhaps he thinks it would be undignified. Perhaps he fears that if we gave the evangelical spirit too much scope we should start to display those extraordinary and very undignified charismata that marked the assemblies of Christians in the apostolic age. After all, they carried on their proceedings in demotic Greek and when this ceased to be intelligible to masses of the faithful they changed over to an equally demotic Latin.

Let me end by emphasizing that Mr. E. Waugh is not a bogyman imagined by a progressive Catholic. He really exists, or the editor of *The Tablet* has been sadly deceived. If Mr. Waugh doesn't watch himself he will soon be finding evidence in the *Osservatore Romano* that the liturgical reforms are being engineered by little men who have come from Venus in flying saucers. So, while there is time—if I may borrow Chesterton's appeal to the late Lord Birkenhead, after the latter had delivered himself on the topic of the Welsh Disestablishment Bill—: Chuck it, Waugh!

J. M. CAMERON

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ALL THINGS CONSIDERED

AN END TO ISOLATIONISM?

Will Pope Paul's trip mark the end of isolationism among American Catholics? The Pope certainly was explicit enough about the United Nations. "We might call our message a ratification," he said, "a solemn moral ratification of this lofty institution." He spoke of himself as "convinced . . . that this organization represents the obligatory path of modern civilization and of world peace." Later in his speech he said: "The edifice that you have constructed must never fall; it must be perfected, and made equal to the needs that world history will present."

Plain enough, but perhaps that last quote will provide the isolationist with a way out, suggesting as it does that the U.N. needs perfecting. The fact is that the Catholic isolationist will go to almost any length to hold to his position. He may eventually be forced to admit the obvious truth, which is that Catholic tradition and papal teaching are on the side of an international world organization formed for the purpose of keeping the peace. But not the U.N., he will say, not the U.N.—or perhaps now, not the U.N. until it has been perfected as the Pope suggested. If pressed hard, the isolationist will admit the theory behind the papal support for an international body like the U.N.; the U.N. itself, the never-perfect reality, he will not accept, unless the leopard has really changed his spots.

It has always seemed to me that a Catholic should be predisposed to the U.N. One expects Catholics to respect the goal of an international order in conformity with the principles of justice and charity. Inclining the Catholic toward respect for the U.N. idea is the very universality of the Church, which knows neither race nor nationality but is intended for all men, in every age, in every land, of every color. Black or white, yellow or brown—it makes no difference.

Then too, there is the fact that those who are Christians subscribe to love of God and love of neighbor. We cannot be indifferent. It must matter to us that millions in other parts of the world could live off the leavings from our table. It must matter to us that millions of children will never live to see adulthood; it must matter that millions live and die in inhuman squalor. We who are citizens of rich nations cannot close our eyes to our brothers who live in poor lands—or at least we cannot and still continue to call ourselves Christians.

The thrust of Catholic tradition is toward human community, toward love. Catholic social thought seeks solidarity, in family life, in industrial relations, in international order; it is opposed to division, to *laissez faire*, to anarchy. The modern popes have applied these principles to international affairs, and it is therefore not surprising that they have spoken against a spirit of national isolationism and selfishness in world affairs. Over the decades the teaching authority of the modern papacy has been consistently and strongly exercised on behalf of the organization of nations, the creation of an international juridical order, and collective action against unjust aggressors. At the same time the popes have been highly realistic: they have emphasized the necessity of achieving social justice if real peace is to be created, and they have stressed such practical points as the need to permit have-not nations access to raw materials and markets.

Does all this mean that an American Catholic could not take exception to the League of Nations in its day or the United Nations today? Not in my book; popes in the past have made whopping political mistakes. Papal statements have to be taken seriously; they certainly cannot be dismissed flippantly or lightly. But I see no reason why those who are informed and competent in such matters could not take serious exception to any of the particular judgments made by the popes on international affairs.

This was not the way it was with the American Catholic isolationists, however. Until a comparatively short time ago, important segments of Catholic opinion in this country echoed the worst mouthings of the isolationist-nationalistic press. Papal statements on the necessity for international organization might be dutifully printed, but in their editorials and columns some diocesan papers consistently sniped at the U.N. and American participation in it. The problem was not that they disagreed with the papal positions and said so—not at all; the problem was that in practice they ignored the papal position entirely. Even worse, the isolationists often had the nerve to couch their position in Catholic terms, to bedeck their nationalistic postures with verbiage borrowed from Catholic social thought. It is on such people that Pope Paul's visit should have its most marked effect; whether it will in the long run remains to be seen.

JAMES O'GARA

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ON THE MODERN WORLD

The Council discussion of Schema 13 and of the Jews

GREGORY BAUM

After the vote on religious liberty on the 21st of September, a certain tension seems to have gone out of the Council. There is a general feeling that the important decisions of the Council have been made. Throughout the last two weeks, the discussion of the schema on the Church in the Modern World has continued: it is, in fact, still going on. These debates were carried out with great serenity.

While the Council was occupied with the difficult subject of the Church's relation to the world, a joyous note was added by Pope Paul's visit to the United Nations in New York. This was a significant event at this particular moment of the conciliar discussion. It demonstrated the reconciling and peace-bringing mission of the Gospel in the world. The Pope's visit, moreover, acknowledged and recommended the present institution for peace and world cooperation as the basis for future developments toward a world government. The Pope has shown forth the willingness of the Catholic people to collaborate with international agencies, and this expression of trust has considerably increased the prestige and power of these institutions in the world. Thirdly, Pope Paul's speech has demonstrated that the banishment of war from this globe is today not the romantic dream of men ignorant of life, but the rational hope of the leaders of the human community. The human conscience on the legitimacy of war is undergoing a change. Pope Paul's peace visit to the United Nations has moved ahead the conscience of mankind on this crucial issue.

The schema on the Church in the Modern World has become a fairly large booklet of 122 pages. After the discussion in the last session, the drafting commission has integrated into the new text the material contained in the former appendices. The present schema is divided into two parts. Part I deals with the changing character of the present age, the understanding of man and the human community in this age of rapid evolution, and finally with the role of the Church in the world of today. Part II deals with a number of specific problems of crucial importance in modern society: marriage and the family, cultural and political life, the establishment of peace, etc.

Part I is of great theological importance. Its style is most unusual for a conciliar document; it almost reads like an essay. Yet language and mode of expression were the object of long discussions at the session of last year. The document was to be addressed to Christians as well as to men of good will everywhere. What manner of speech was to be used for such a wide audience? One possibility was to speak first in terms of natural wisdom valid for all men and then, addressing oneself to Christians alone, express the superior truths the Gospel has revealed to us. Another possibility was to remain strictly within the realm of Christian doctrine: in this case the document would be addressed to Christians and be acceptable by outsiders only as they approach and accept the Gospel preached by the Church. Part I of the schema declined to use either of these methods.

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Basing itself on the teaching of the *Constitution on the Church,* it found a new method of speaking to Christians and non-Christians alike. In chapter 2 of the *Constitution on the Church* we learn that God the Father, who has revealed His love to us in Jesus Christ, is at work, in the Spirit, in the whole human family so that His plan of salvation and sanctification comes to full realization. This means that God is at work even outside the Church. The authors of the schema, therefore, are convinced that if they announce the mystery of man and his solidarity here on earth as it is revealed in the Christian Gospel, the people of the world, called as they are by the Spirit, may well understand such language. The authors of the schema think that a simple description of the human reality as it appears in the light of Revelation will not sound strange to men of the world, but due to the influence of the Spirit in them, communicate something to them. In technical terms, the schema offers a phenomenological presentation of Christian anthropology.

In simple and often moving sentences, man is described in terms of his freedom and responsibility. He is a creature of earth called to a spiritual adventure. At the core of his existence is conscience, his conscience, where God awaits him. At the same time man is in community. He belongs with others. He cannot grow alone. From this follow beautiful paragraphs on the basic equality of men, on social charity and the love of enemies, on the insufficiency of an individualistic moral code, on responsibility and participation.

Man is described as a worker. He transforms and humanizes his surroundings. Work, culture, earthly realities have therefore a spiritual dimension. They are values in themselves. Through a growing interconnectedness and coordination, the human community is able to transform the earthly surroundings more effectively and advance the material and spiritual culture in which men become more able to realize their dignity as persons. Following the writings of Pope John, this process is called socialization.

The Evolution of the Modern World

This description of man and the human community is presented against the background of the extraordinary evolution which characterizes the modern world. The social, psychological, moral, and religious changes proper to the present age are dramatically set forth. God's world is in a state of evolution, and man's part in it is defined by his capacity to love and his power to transform nature.

What is the relation of the Kingdom of God to this earthly community in a state of evolution? This crucial question was discussed at length by the bishops. The schema presents the world as a place where sin and destruction are constantly threatening the integrity of man and the growth of human community, but it also sees the plan of God, as revealed in the Old Testament and in the Incarnation of God's Son, as the gratuitous and merciful guarantee that the forces of redemption are everywhere at work. God is at work in the world overcoming evil, leading the human family into communion with Himself. In this design the Church is His primary instrument.

Many bishops felt that this vision was rather too optimistic. The reality of sin taints every human activity so that the world, even when perfected by the corporate endeavor of man, remains profoundly ambiguous. The world of men remains under the judgment of God. The greatest effort of the Christian, therefore, is not to transform the present world, but to prepare and initiate the age to come.

This is a deep theological problem. Since the convictions of Christians diverge rather widely on this central issue, the schema will not be able to solve it. There is, however, a broad area of agreement. All Christians agree that it is man's vocation to love, to serve, and to build community, and all Christians agree that judged by the total victory of Christ on the Last Day, life on this earth, even when lived in communion with others, is a pilgrimage through desert land. Christian spirituality can become this-worldly and Christian holiness communion-centered without solving the difficult problem of biblical eschatology.

What is the Church's mission in this universe? A short chapter deals with this. It tries to reconcile the Church's mission to save men for communion with Christ and the glory of the age to come with her mission to serve the human community in this age so that the will of God be done on earth and men become a single family of brothers. The order of redemption includes the order of creation. The life of faith includes responsibility for the brethren on earth. Today more than ever before has the Church entered into solidarity with all of humanity. The Church realizes that she is not alone: she is in fact helped by the humanity surrounding her and the advance of secular society. The present historical situation justifies the shift of emphasis in the Church's self-understanding and in the evaluation of her own mission in the world.

"The explosion of the social conscience"—a phrase used by a bishop in his speech—also marks the treatment of the special topics taken up in Part II. We do not have the space to present these issues in this article.

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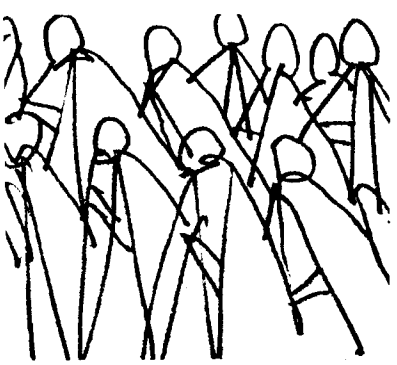
Part II was written rather rapidly by various subcommissions. It did not quite follow the dynamic understanding of the human reality proper to Part I. There was a great deal of discussion on the Council floor. As usual, the bishops expressed many divergent tendencies. It will be difficult for the drafting commission to find a way that will satisfy the entire episcopate. It is quite likely therefore that the schema will eventually be published not as a conciliar constitution, but simply as a letter or a message addressed to the human community. Dealing with concrete problems such as the family, the advancement of culture, the economic life, and the establishment of peace, the Christian wisdom the Council is able to proclaim will remain tentative and conditioned by the present situation of human society.

The Church does not directly affect the life of society simply by publishing a marvelous document. What really counts is that the documents promulgated by the Council will deeply influence Christian teaching and thus change the conscience of the Christian community. The document on the Church in the world must make the Christian people enter into solidarity with their fellowmen and shoulder to shoulder with them join in the social evolution taking place in our day.



While the schema on the Church in the Modern World was being discussed, various other documents, treated in preceding sessions, were submitted to the final vote of the Council Fathers. The long Decree on the Lay Apostolate was accepted by the Council. Then the Decree on the Pastoral Function of Bishops in the Church was proposed for voting and definitively approved by the Council. This Decree applies the principle of collegiality, taught in chapter 3 of the *Constitution on the Church,* to the government of dioceses and the relationship of bishops among themselves and to the Holy See. The Decree implements a certain decentralization of Church government, it promotes the collaboration of the bishops with the Pope and among themselves, and provides for consultation of priests and laity in the dioceses. The Decree contains a paragraph on the Synod of Bishops. It asks for the reorganization of the Roman Congregations according to the needs of the Church today and the internationalization of the Curia and the body of papal legates.

Christians and Jews

A few days ago the revised Declaration on the Church's Attitude to Non-Christian Religions was distributed to the Council Fathers. The paragraphs dealing with Jewish-Christian relations have been somewhat modified, but the substance of the teaching has remained untouched. Since at a Council the minorities are respected, especially when they come from a single area in the Church, the Secretariat of Christian Unity had to consider the bishops living in Arab lands who were opposed to the Declaration. The Secretariat was bound on the one hand by the vast majority of the Council Fathers who had approved the document and on the other by the fears of Christians in countries where the Declaration was misunderstood in political terms. It was the task of the Secretariat to preserve the substance of the document and reduce to a minimum the possibility of political misunderstanding.

The present text, as the preceding one, is a powerful statement on the common patrimony of the Church and the Jewish people, and on the need of dialogue and cooperation. It explains that neither all the Jews of the time of Jesus nor the Jews of later generations can be held responsible for what happened during the passion of Christ and that therefore the Jews must never be represented—as this happened in the past—as accursed or rejected. This is especially true since St. Paul assures us that they remain "most dear because of their fathers." It is specifically said, against some writers of the past and the present, that the vilification of the Jews on account of the share of the Jewish authorities in the crucifixion of Jesus, is not in harmony with the teaching of the Gospel. Christian catechesis and preaching must take into account the clarifications contained in the Declaration. The Church which reproves all persecution and discrimination, recalling her common patrimony with the Synagogue, deplores the hatred and persecution of the Jews and all manifestations of anti-Semitism.

If the present text had not been preceded by a previous one, it would have been judged as a great act of friendship and as a theological confirmation of the spiritual brotherhood between Christians and Jews. However, the present text was not the first one. The modifications introduced into the present text in order to reduce the provocations, however groundless they may have been, to a minimum, have been judged rather severely by some newspapers. In particular, the omis-

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sion of the word "deicide" has been scored. In the preceding text preachers and catechists were asked to say nothing "that could cause contempt or hatred of the Jews" and the persecution of the Jews in past and present were "deplored and condemned" by the Council. In the new text the exhortation to preachers and catechists does not refer to contempt and hatred of Jews and the reprobation of anti-Semitism does not use the word "condemn."

The Secretariat has introduced these modifications without any intention of weakening the statement on Jewish-Christian friendship. It was judged that the word "deicide" could be left out, since this unjust accusation leveled against the Jews in the past has been refuted in the sentence denying that the Jews as such can be held guilty for the death of Christ. The present statement therefore does refute the ancient charge of deicide. The exhortation to preachers and catechists has been reworded because some bishops insisted that the former version would confuse their faithful, giving the impression that the story of the Gospel itself was being criticized. The word "condemn" has been removed because some bishops regarded as provocative that the discrimination and persecutions of Jews should be reproved by a stronger word than was used when reproving discrimination and persecutions of other people.

Since the Catholic bishops living in Arab countries not without real fear have unanimously asked for the removal of the whole Declaration, the few modifications in the text seem a small concession indeed. Taking into account the social realities of the Council and the give-and-take necessary in any committee work, there is good reason to rejoice that the Declaration in its present form has been submitted to the Council. In a few years the unpleasant modifications will be forgotten. The lasting result will be the education to respect and friendship with Jews which the Catholic Church gives its members through the present Declaration. The quasi-theological arguments used by anti-Semites have been once and for all refuted. The dogmatic foundation has been laid for spiritual brotherhood between Christians and Jews.

Christian Democracy in Latin America

DEMOCRATIC REVOLUTIONS

RAFAEL CALDERA

It would not be just to say that until Fidel Castro seized power in Cuba nobody in the United States or in Europe cared about the future of Latin America. But it is not an exaggeration to admit that only after the establishment of an avowedly Marxist-Leninist government in Cuba, were major efforts initiated to study and understand the serious problems posed by our social reality; to analyze and interpret the difficulties over which our political organizations have stumbled, and to formulate plans for international cooperation.

Twenty politically sovereign entities, almost all of them liberated through heroic efforts at the beginning of the nineteenth century, have been struggling more than a century to achieve political stability and firmly establish an efficient democratic system. This ordeal has seldom been understood, though the difficulties have been similar to those faced by the emerging African nations today.

Bolivar remarked that "we were already old in the usages of civil society." We had universities before they existed in North America; we had minorities who were well aware of cultural developments in Europe, though perhaps less up to date in the advances of technology. But we also inherited from the colonial structure huge illiterate majorities who, in many cases, did not receive even the most rudimentary instruction for earning a decent living. These people are now aware of the fundamental rights of the human person: free expression of thought, participation through suffrage in the organization of public power, and also, more concretely, the right to eat a full meal, to live under a decent roof, to found a family, to receive an education, to enjoy leisure and to share in the comforts that advancing civilization is making accessible to all.

We Latin Americans realize that it is time to fulfill the destiny of our peoples; but at the same time we are

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aware of the fearful obstacles that our social reality places in the path of this formidable task. We know that roughly one of every two Latin American families inhabits a dwelling that does not meet minimum requirements of comfort, hygiene and human decency. The report of the experts for the meetings at Punta del Este in 1961 pointed out that the housing shortage was growing by more than one million units each year. Of every two children of school age, one is deprived of any chance to attend school, and a high percentage—it has been estimated as high as 90%—do not complete their primary education. In 1960, according to figures reported in the New York *Times*, per capita annual income in Latin America was estimated at $300 to $350. The figure for the United States is $2,400. But of our twenty countries, only five attained the Latin American average; the other fifteen fall below it, and in Bolivia and Haiti, the figure is less than $100 per person per year. If we analyze the distribution among the various social strata, the statistics are even more horrible.

More than a century after independence we continue to be providers of raw materials. The international markets, dominated by the industrial nations, have often experienced price fluctuations between 10 and 20 percent, with a tendency to decline or at least remain static, while there has been a sustained increase in the prices of manufactured products, thus resulting in a progressive deterioration of the Latin American economies. As a result, in the past fifteen years the value of goods exported by the United States to Latin America has tripled, while the value of raw materials exported by Latin America to the United States has not even doubled.

Violent or Peaceful Revolution

Only revolutionary change can alter the trend of these figures and set a new course for the future. We reject the term revolution when used as a synonym for violence and unrestrained impulse to change everything, acknowledging the observations of Pope Pius XII in his Pentecost message of 1943, and Pope John XXIII in *Pacem in Terris*. But to uncounted Latin Americans who defend institutions while demanding structural changes, as was once lucidly pointed out by Vice-President Hubert Humphrey, the word revolution carries the sense of a change that is neither gradual nor spontaneous, as mere evolution supposes, but rapid, deep and at the same time guided by new programs and ideas.

The imminence of a revolution is palpable. Either we carry out a peaceful, constructive and Christian revolution, or our peoples will be dragged to their own misfortune into a violent, materialistic and destructive one. This is true of all the different countries, for despite their diversity there exists a fundamental unity.

On the one hand, we find the traditional forces that competed in the old parties: Conservative and Liberal. In some countries they still subsist with identical or similar denomination. In Colombia—by virtue of a constitutional reform approved through plebiscite when a military dictatorship was overthrown—they have assured themselves the distribution of all positions of power for a period of sixteen years, of which only six have elapsed. However, the anachronism of this system became strikingly evident during the last elections, when only 30% of the electorate bothered to vote. In other countries, such as Chile, Conservatives and Liberals still maintain strong organizations, but their total vote has declined substantially. The Radical Party, as in France and other European nations, has become in general simply an addition to the old interaction between Conservatism and Liberalism, frequently forming fronts within them for the defense of order and democracy, and opposing programs and movements of social change.

Against an impenetrable Right, which has resisted the transformation that social structures demand, Marxism has grown and spread in many forms. The movement has developed deep cleavages. Many former Communists, or dilettante Marxists, are grouped today, together with non-Marxist persons who yet desire a change of system, under the common denomination of democratic socialism. This name has been given, in international meetings, to the youth of such varied parties as APRA of Peru, *Accion Democratica* of Venezuela, Colombia's Liberal Party, Paraguay's Liberal Party, Chile's Radicals, Argentina's Frondizi Radicals, the Popular Party of Puerto Rico and the Liberation Party of Costa Rica. In its very variety lies its main problem. These parties have filled a great role and at a given moment commanded the allegiance of popular majorities in several Latin American countries. They have counted among their leaders men of undisputed prestige. But their lack of clear definitions and the inconsistency between a revolutionary doctrine full of Marxist terminology and a pragmatic and often incoherent line of action, has led to a rapid deterioration of those forces. Their greatest weakness lies in the continuing decline of their emotional appeal to youth.

Another frequent feature of Latin American life has been military dictatorships. Explanations and justifications have abounded, but almost invariably, whether of the right or left, popular or unpopular, they have self-

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perpetuated until the inevitable violent overthrow. Based on force and clashing always with the rebelliousness of the people, they end without solving any important problems.

A New Political Force

Within this framework a new political movement has recently appeared: that of Christian Democracy. Marked as the only growing democratic political force in Latin America today, it is now recognized—after having been often ignored—as an emerging force.

As a movement, its greatest success has been the brilliant victory of Eduardo Frei Montalva in the Chilean elections. This was preceded by other important milestones, however. In the Chilean municipal elections of May, 1963, the Christian Democratic party displaced the Radical Party, which traditionally had held first place among political organizations. In July of the same year, after the support of the Christian Democratic party gave the victory in the Peruvian elections to Fernando Belaunde Terry, the Christian Democrats became part of the new government, and in December their candidate for Mayor of Lima, Luis Bedoya Reyes, decisively defeated Sra. Maria Delgado de Odria, candidate of an incredible coalition between APRA and followers of ex-dictator General Manuel Odria. In the elections of December, 1963, Venezuela's Christian Democratic COPEI Party obtained 22 percent of the votes, gaining second place in the electoral results and revealing itself as the only party that had grown since the previous elections. To both national and foreign observers this marked it as the favorite in the next elections.

There were many other good signs: the growth of the party in Brazil, especially in the States of Sao Paulo and Parana; its sudden appearance, with tangible results, on the political scene of Bolivia; its consolidation, through the adoption of a system of proportional representation, in the Argentine elections; its attainment of third place in the Dominican Republic elections that chose President Bosch, of fourth place in the Panamanian elections of 1964, and of second place in the 1963 El Salvador elections.

Christian Democracy has had to overcome many misconceptions. One that is still prevalent is its supposed confessionalism. Christian Democracy is not in any way a religious movement; it does not have a confessional character. Christian Democratic parties include among their members Catholics, Protestants, Jews, agnostics, professing the widest variety of conceptions and creeds. The name "Christian" does not represent a religious position but the conviction that Christian values and the spirit of Christianity can best fulfill successfully the requirements of social justice and defeat Marxism in the struggle to conquer the soul of the people. We believe that the Christian social inspiration overflows the boundaries of a given creed. And it is heartening for us to observe how the ecumenical spirit that has blossomed at the Second Vatican Council has come to reinforce the attempts at rapprochement among all men who support democracy and social justice.

It is not surprising, then, that the position of the Christian Democratic movement is definitely revolutionary. We do not defend tradition for tradition's sake. We accept from it what represents essential values or is part of the spiritual heritage of our peoples; but we are profoundly convinced of the need for change, and that this change must not be gradual or superficial. We defend property, but we demand that it fulfill a social function. We stimulate private initiative, as long as it is not incompatible with the collective welfare. We believe in friendship among peoples, especially those that defend the same fundamental values that inspire Western civilization, but we feel that this friendship cannot be based on dependency, privilege or imposition, but on a relationship of decorous equality. We maintain that by virtue of international social justice the wealthier and more developed countries are obliged to lend their support to those which, due to various circumstances—not always or entirely within their control—are not in a condition to achieve by themselves, in this highly interdependent modern world, the goals they have set themselves.

The growth of Christian Democracy has modified considerably the political horizon of Latin America. Only yesterday, observers saw nothing but the Communist threat, a dictatorship to oppose it, or the so-called popular parties, as a temporary and crumbling barrier against the Communist avalanche. This picture has changed. The youth in the universities of Latin America is becoming enthusiastic about Christian Democratic formulas. The disquieting stream of Marx-

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ism in Latin America's educational institutions is beginning to lose ground.

But what interests us above all is the social projection of Christian Democracy. The grave problems of Latin America cannot be resolved simply by the injection of a few million dollars: as statistics show, this is less than what we lose through decreases in the prices of our products. A more fundamental change is needed, and this must be clearly understood by the other countries of the free world, especially those like the United States to which we are related. The people of Latin America desire a revolutionary change. They want it because they need it. It is senseless to wait any longer. It is naive to prepare formulas that operate slowly. Circumstances are so serious that there are those who, in good faith and even with the support of authoritative currents of Christian theology, come to preach and maintain the need for violence. In opposition to this, the Christian Democratic thesis calls for a peaceful revolution, a revolution in freedom. We understand the arguments put forth by what we might call the "theology of violence"; but we are profoundly convinced that violence only engenders further violence and that while it hastens the destructive phase of revolutions—that is, the destruction of the old order that is deemed unjust—it obstructs, and sometimes renders unfeasible, the construction of a new and just order.

The Communist Threat

Communism in Latin America is a menacing reality. It becomes more threatening each day, encouraged by the failure of the incomplete solutions and the inconsistent attitudes of Democratic Socialism; it is nourished by the injustice perpetuated through the static postures of the Conservative—or Liberal, or Radical—right; stimulated by the regimes of force, since each dictatorship leaves behind it a wider perspective and a more aggressive organization of the militant Communist ranks, ready to command and twist the spirit of the people in their struggle to recover liberty. This threat is also fed by the psychological stimulus derived from Marxism-Leninism in other regions of the world: the stability of the so-called "people's democracies," even if they are maintained by force through the most oppressive police system; the strengthening of China as an aggressive world power; the disturbing news from Vietnam, the anguish of the entire Asian Southeast and the open help received by the Congolese rebels and other Communist groups in Africa. But, most of all, it is fed by the brazen activities of Cuba, training guerrillas, distributing all types of propaganda and sending material help by sea and air in its determination to convert the whole of Latin America into a great guerrilla camp.

The Right is powerless against this danger. A perfect example is found in the former government of Chile, where a government coalition of Conservatives, Liberals and Radicals, under the leadership of one of the more

competent men of the private sector, left behind it a situation in which the extreme Left obtained 40 percent of the vote, in the midst of a dizzy inflationary process that rocketed the prices of basic commodities, obliterated the modest income of the working forces, especially the peasants, and turned to quicksand the ground on which the new administrators must rebuild the economy.

As for Democratic Socialism, its experience in government has generally been characterized by a lack of clear aims and ambitious programs. Its debility is grave. We need only to observe in Peru the profound disillusionment among the people due to the entente between APRA and the rigidly conservative followers of Odria, who once persecuted them. Similar examples can be found in other countries and the resulting mass exodus of followers has led in two directions: toward Communism or toward Christian Democracy. In Venezuela this trend is especially noteworthy, since the traditional majority party which won 70% of the popular vote in 1947, fell to 48% in 1958 and 33% in 1963.

To complete this picture, we should add that Christian Democracy has raised one of the most inspiring banners that currently excite the imagination of our peoples: that of Latin American integration. We shall cease to be small, poor and relegated countries as soon as we unite and act as a single force, made up of twenty sovereign nations but linked in a single idea, expressed with a single voice. Integration presupposes a state of mind; it demands mutual trust; it requires decision and firmness.

The achievement of these requisites goes hand in hand with the growing influence of the Christian Democratic parties. Not in vain have we joined in an organiza-

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tion that has already celebrated six regional congresses, the Christian Democratic Organization of America (ODCA), over which I have the honor to preside, and whose favorite topic has been precisely that of the political, economic and social integration of Latin America. This organization, together with that of the European Christian Democratic parties (NEI) and of the Christian Democrats in exile from the Iron Curtain countries (Christian Democratic Union of Central Europe), make up the World Union of Christian Democrats (UMDEC), which has already held four congresses. It fosters interchange among the parties of Europe and America, which naturally differ owing to the disparity of circumstances between industrial and emerging nations, but nevertheless are more closely united each day in their fundamental conception of the destiny of man. In addition, they are currently developing coordinated programs for leadership training.

In Latin America then, the Christian Democratic parties constitute a phenomenon born of the very social reality in which they act. I wish to insist on this, or I would risk a misunderstanding. We are based on a doctrinary conception, but the application of this doctrine is adapted to the requirements of Latin America's social condition.

It has taken North Americans and Europeans a long time to understand us. Sometimes they have dabbled in the internal politics of our countries, alternately supporting dictatorial regimes, right-wing governments or the populist parties. I once pointed out to the late President Kennedy the danger of maintaining extremely close links with a given political force. Our peoples are still highly sensitive about colonialism. The Encyclical *Mater et Magistra* noted this and remarked that wealthy countries giving aid to the emerging nations must be very careful to respect their personality, which derives from their habitat, from ancestral traditions, from natural disposition.

Christian Democracy's growing popular support is the most encouraging sign in our Continent. And the destiny of Latin America is a key factor for the security of this hemisphere and for the health and progress of Christian civilization. Our peoples have heard much about agrarian reform, industrialization, structural reforms, social security, fight against unemployment, education, housing, sanitation, culture and welfare accessible to all. The road, however, seems long; it demands great courage, great energy and decision. Christian Democracy, among the various ideological and political forces of Latin America, is the best qualified to travel this road. It seems that from now on she will fulfill this extraordinary task.

PATHOLOGICAL PATH

THE SCREEN

Evidently I'm not with it. The overdoses of violence and disorder in modern movies are beginning to alienate me, and I'm wondering if the black humor of "Dr. Strangelove," the brutality of "The Hill," the decadence in "Darling," and the madnesses in "The Collector" and "Life Upside Down" are really a reflection of our age or just the concoctions of moviemakers to win customers. The violence-and-disorder themes do seem to draw audiences, so whether they are an image of our times or an influence on our times, they will continue to be displayed in films; and two new items in the cycle are now up for grabs.

The Polish director Roman Polanski, whose fascinating exercise, "Knife in the Water," about a young man who terrorized a married couple, won applause here a few years ago, now goes a step farther in his first English-language film. Made in London with a French and English cast, "Repulsion" tells the story of Carol, a young manicurist who is already psychotic at the picture's beginning and before its finale, she goes completely berserk. Extremely well played by pretty, girlish Catherine Deneuve, Carol is both attracted and repelled by sex and anything that pertains to it. She hears a great deal of talk about men at the plush beauty salon where she works. Carol and her sister (Yvonne Furneaux) share a London flat; and Carol hears the sounds from her sister's room when her sister's married lover comes to spend the night. The repressed girl's hatred, yearnings, and attitudes toward everything male grow more and more confused. When the sister and her lover go to Italy for ten days, Carol's detachment from reality increases: her sexual fantasies become day and night dreams.

Last month I reviewed the French "Life Upside Down," in which a placid schizophrenic finally found complete happiness by retiring into an asylum. Carol's schizophrenia takes a much different turn—not only in the beauty parlor where she jabs a few women, but also in her own flat which is now in complete disarray (in her own mind and in reality) and where she bashes in the head of her nice young suitor and uses a razor to slice up her unnice, lecherous landlord. By this time "Repulsion" has become a Grand Guignol, and if Polanski hadn't directed his film slowly and thoughtfully, it would at this stage be both laughable and completely

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unbelievable. But so skillful are the script by Polanski and Gerard Branch and the careful, step-by-believable-step direction that one is appalled by the murders and the few remaining scenes in which the sister returns. The first-rate black-and-white photography, the use of symbols and sound (the music, dripping water, the tinkle of bells and laughter of nuns from the convent across the street) all add to the impressive film making in "Repulsion." You may find Carol's story, which is actually all climax and minus the cause, shocking and hard to take, but as cinema it is outstanding. You may wonder where Polanski goes from here.

You may also wonder whatever has happened to Tony Richardson who made such a mess out of "The Loved One." It is possible that the original novel, Evelyn Waugh's sharp, biting satire on Hollywood and American funeral procedures, was not filmable. In that case it should have been left alone. But expanded as the story is in the screenplay by Terry Southern and Christopher Isherwood, the film becomes an elaborate, often unfunny exaggeration. Waugh's excesses were amusing and acceptable, though startling, because of his dry, sparse storytelling. In the film, with all its campy scenes, slapstick, and overstated jokes, it's difficult to tell whether "The Loved One" is burlesquing the American way of death or the American way of moviemaking.

Director Richardson has managed to get some bright moments into the 116-minute opus, and the performances of Robert Morse as the young Englishman working in the animal cemetery and Anjanette Comer as the cosmetician at the Whispering Glades funeral parlor are fine. And so are John Gielgud, Margaret Leighton, Robert Morley, Milton Berle in small roles. It isn't just the film's vulgarity and sick jokes that are at fault. If the picture wanted to live up to the motto in its advertisements: "The motion picture with something to offend everyone"—it should at least have been amusing about it. Offensive "The Loved One" is; but funny, alas, it is not.

PHILIP T. HARTUNG

UNSPONTANEOUS "GENERATION"

THE STAGE

"Generation" has the look of a good enough play from which most of the virtue has been dumped, piece by piece. One pictures a harrowing road trip, like the one described in William Gibson's *Seesaw Log*, in the course of which the best ideas were jettisoned by trembling hands to make the boat lighter, and replaced by foamy-laff, the quick pain-reliever that housewives bark for. (And I'm afraid that this is about the level of satire which the play itself winds up on.)

One trouble with doing a play like this, of even modest ideas, on Broadway, is that you apparently have to start from scratch every time out: the audience is assumed to be verbally bright, but totally uninformed and intellectually virginal. The central idea in "Generation" is an intellectual commonplace but it has to be laboriously established, and restated again and again in a sequence of simple gags, before anything much can be done with it.

The thesis is that a picture-book liberal is a far cry from a real radical, as to both style and content. I don't know where this could still come as news. Even in the swamplands of the Right, it is generally understood that the picture-book liberal is the last word in cautious domestication. Arthur Schlesinger, Jr. (to take the favorite heavy in these discussions) probably hasn't missed a haircut in his life. And on stage the respectability-prone leftist is a joke going back at least as far as Shaw. Surely it can now be taken as read.

But on Broadway, very little is taken as read. While off-Broadway, a writer like Jack Gelber is becoming more and more arcane and demanding more and more special knowledge and experience from his audiences, Broadway continues to treat us as Rip Van Winkles who have to have the light bulbs explained. (My guess is that both assumptions are unreal, and that few people are either "in" enough for Gelber or intellectually innocent enough for Broadway—the disparity is too shocking to contemplate—but the American writer's audience has always been a peculiar mystery, so my guess may be wrong.)

In any event, a gag as venerable as the one in "Generation" demands nuance and particularity, but all it

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gets is caricature and generalization—garments suitable to a young gag, not an old one. We are shown the bow-tie liberal reacting uneasily to folk-music, to voluntary poverty, to water glasses that don't stand up properly, to men who wear necklaces—but we knew all that about middle-class liberals before the play began. What we want to know now is: what is so special about this one?

In this respect, Henry Fonda is not very much help. Fonda is a competent stage actor, who knows how to hold people's attention and how to wring a titter from them: but he is also an incorrigible smoothie, and something of a walking stereotype—everyman's harassed liberal. He brings out the obvious comic aspects of the part nicely but cuts off all further speculation.

His main harassment in the play comes from his commonlaw son-in-law, a runofthemill anarchist played (with conviction) by Robert Jordan. The two of them embark on some promising exchanges: e.g., when Jordan denies being a beatnik, and Fonda reflects that beatniks are now as hard to find as Nazis were in postwar Germany. But they soon subside to a level of *Kitsch* sociology and hashed-over journalism: Tom Wolfe for Dick and Jane.

There are suggestions of better things: the anarchist's indifference to the fact that his pose is several years out of date; Fonda's serene conviction that he has kept a pure liberal heart even when it has been proved that he lost it years ago. The fragments that remain of such themes are what convince me that the author, William Goodhart, started out with a more intelligent play than he wound up with. (*At the Morosco*)

"A Minor Miracle" is one of those curious plays where the first act seems to have no connection with the second.

The first act is about a foxy grandpa priest (Lee Tracy) who has turned his rectory into a horse parlor. This could be interesting, watching an elderly man of God surrender his whole consciousness to a hobby, but it is treated here mainly as cute.

As a result, it has nothing to do with his vocational doubts later on in the action. If these had been inspired by the horses—well, it would have been different. But they are brought about by a crying holy picture, which isn't different at all, but very "old-thing" and paralyzingly uninteresting to Catholics or anyone else. (*Closed at the Henry Miller*)

"Pickwick" is just one of those mistakes that there is no point in pawing over. The book might just possibly have been done as a loose-jointed pantomime in the English tradition, though I wouldn't especially want to see even that. But this attempt to stuff the whole story into a standard musical means not enough of anything; it leaves no time for Sam Weller's leisurely similes, no time to eat, no time for any of the book's special flavors. Only Mr. Jingle's eerie anticipation of *Time*-style comes across. Dickensians would do well to stay home with a book. (*At the 46th Street Theater*)

WILFRID SHEED

BOOKS

A throw-back to nineteenth-century romanticism

Castroism: Theory and Practice

THEODORE DRAPER

Praeger, $5.95

WILSON C. McWILLIAMS

Fidel Castro has never lacked fervent admirers. Students and intellectuals abroad, not to mention Cubans at home, have seen him wearing the mantle of the hero and invested with the aura of the prophet. Theodore Draper's most recent study of the Castro regime makes his sustained popularity difficult to explain.

Draper's verdict on the "theory and practice" of Castroism is a simple one: Castroism has almost no theory and has failed in practice. On both counts, it is difficult to disagree. Castro has been able to achieve his bewildering shifts of doctrinal front, Draper contends, because he had no doctrine at all. He and his followers had only an aim, the overthrow of Batista, and a tactic, guerrilla war. And even in tactical terms, Draper points out, the Castroites oversimplified. It was not guerrilla war, begun by the strong-willed few and joined by the peasant masses which brought down Batista: it is necessary to consider the urban, middle-class basis of resistance, the indifference of the mass of peasants and workers, the moral collapse of the Batista regime and the consequent collapse of its army.

In short, one must weigh all those factors which led the old Communist leader, Escalante, to conclude (accurately enough, if one considers the style and origins of the Castro revolution)

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that Cuba was ready only for a "bourgeois revolution" led by "radicalized" elements of the middle class. Arising from the peculiar tensions of Cuba's "intermediately developed" economy and society, Castroism could hardly be generalized to other states, and less so in view of the fact that, as Draper observes, subsequent imitators of Castro could not conceal their intentions (as Castro claims to have done) behind a mask of anti-Communist rhetoric.

Taking the myth of "revolutionary war" at face value, however, it is still clear that the Castroites had no notion of the kind of revolution they hoped to make; not only did they lack a social blueprint, they lacked anything beyond the most rudimentary understanding of social institutions and processes. The economics of the Castroites were, and remain, incredibly naïve. They discarded or de-emphasized sugar cultivation, feeling it to be the root of Cuba's ills, and embarked on a program of rapid industrialization without calculating the cost of raw materials and ingenuously expecting the Soviet Union to foot the bill. When those hopes were rudely shattered, they overreacted, returning to an almost exclusive reliance on sugar (perhaps even in excess of that of preceding governments) on the dubious "dialectical" theory that "monoculture" can only be overcome by exploiting monoculture to the limit. Alas, that thesis, however ingenious, has foundered in its turn, with sugar having fallen to below two cents a pound. This economic naïveté is symptomatic of the prevailing incoherence.

Fidel Castro is not a wholly new breed of revolutionary, not the forerunner of a new era. In many important respects, he is a throw-back, a new exponent of the revolutionary romanticism of the 19th century. His belief in the power of zeal, moral fervor and subjective factors in general to overcome and transform objective forces; his posturing and his interminable, though often eloquent, orations; all of the major factors of Castro's style, and that of his regime, suggest Garibaldi – or, in a slightly more macabre sense, D'Annunzio or Mussolini. That, in fact, is one

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of the major roots of Castro's appeal to non-Cuban intellectuals like Sartre: men of the idea, frustrated by the almost meta-human forces which shape the times, may find their "man of action" in Fidel Castro.

The revolutionary romantic is a man alienated from all social groups and classes. He is prone to the cults of terrorism and violence in the efforts to escape his alienation by either conquering society or by destroying it, or himself, in the attempt. Rosa Luxemburg saw that tendency in Russia, and despite Draper's efforts at exoneration, it is easy to discern it in Lenin's belief that a zealous vanguard could overcome the seeming limitations of Russian social organization and economic development. Lenin spoke of a party, Castro of a guerrilla band, but they are of one breed. Castro's "way of the guerrillero" is only more traditional, part of a heritage which includes Robin Hood and Don Quixote.

Revolutionary romanticism differs from its literary counterpart in refusing to sink into despair in the face of a recalcitrant reality. In times of crisis, that quality can make the romantic revolutionary a hero. Castro was surely a better symbol of resistance to Batista than the ineffectual resistance groups among the urban Cuban middle class. Yet the same quality makes him almost incapable of dealing with the persistently insoluble problems of political life. Refusing to acknowledge the limitations of the empirical world, the revolutionary romantic comes also to fear thought; thought also suggests limitations and threatens the man of action with ineffectiveness. All of this fits Castro: Eric Hoffer's "true believer," he remains almost totally insulated from the world of events.

The inevitable resistance which the romantic encounters from the world is met in three ways: by exhortations to fervor, by coercion, and finally by violence. The first two stages have already been reached in Cuba, typified by the apparatus of coercion which now pervades the island. Two alternatives remain: that Castro may abandon his romanticism, or that he will turn more and more toward a violence which may ultimately destroy his regime.

Of the first possibility, no signs exist. In dismissing Guevara, Castro is reported to have rejected the former's counsel that China could not be relied on and that Cuba would have to yield her pretension to independent leadership and tie herself firmly to the U.S.S.R. As Hannah Arendt observed, the totalitarian leader becomes increasingly insulated against reality, first by his own romanticism, and subsequently by a chorus of adulation, until finally even his closest associates cannot venture criticism without suffering the charge of heresy.

Yet the appeal of revolutionary romanticism to peoples in the stage of "intermediate development" has been nearly universal. Exposed to the frustrations of development, infuriated by the indignity of economic and political dependence, excited by hopes for the future, such peoples may find it hard to resist the appeals of the leader who asserts that will and discipline can overcome present limitations and close the gap between indignity and greatness.

It may be that, as Draper suggests, if the United States shifted its support from exiles and schemes of invasion to the Cuban people, the persistent failures of the Castro regime would bring it down. I am inclined to think that Draper underrates the continued appeal of Castro's evangel (as well as the difficulties of organizing a revolt against an established totalitarianism). Yet, even if Draper is right, the fall of Castro will not lessen the appeal of his kindred romantics to the peoples of similar nations. That fact is a major challenge to the wisdom of the great powers, for the passions of the romantic have become intolerably perilous in an age of thermonuclear war.

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The Complete Poems of W. H. Davies

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JOHN FANDEL

"The boyhood of William Henry Davies reminds us of the boyhood of some Dickens character." This is the first sentence of the first full biography of the poet many know because they once read "Leisure" and "Sheep" and could not forget them. Dickensian, as Richard Stonesifer colorfully proves, this early life might be as difficult to forget: a life of so much vitality and hard going, of balanced resolution.

Drawing from the autobiographical writings—it is as easy to put down *The Autobiography of a Super-Tramp* as it is to forget it—Stonesifer faithfully reconstructs the life, writing in "the extraordinary quietness" Shaw remarked in Davies' prose. He draws, too, from the autobiographical poems, the versified

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facts of Davies' life and the confessed mind and heart of a burly and sensitive spirit.

But of his later life, though Dickensian is still one word for it, the transition from a "tough little tramp" to literary man through the doss-house, Stonesifer suggests another: "It is the world of Robert Greene still surviving in our own time." Is Georgian, Marsh's "proud, ambiguous, adjective," the word to describe Davies, finally, his ascension into the literary world? No, says Stonesifer, reasonably and rightly, affiliated though Davies was with the group "in the general public's mind." He did not manufacture simplicity; that was his—genuine—genius, original, not literary. And it is this Stonesifer conveys so justly, which may be, genius, the word for Davies, the "man of genius" Osbert Sitwell called him.

The genius illuminates the poems, shines through them, at times in that "blue light" which was Davies' test for poetry. In *The Complete Poems* so generously edited by Daniel George, who has included all of the poems Davies wrote and published, the range of this genius is viewed, its peaks, its gutters, its moments and its timelessness. Gathered through the focus of Stonesifer's critical eye in part two of his book, this genius is evenly, roundly seen. Stonesifer analyzes the poems following the three divisions Davies claimed his "area" in writing: "poems of life, of nature and of love." Holding Davies up to earlier poets—Herrick is a likely one—comparing his poems of nature and love with Elizabethan and Augustan poetry, Stonesifer stresses this genius pertinently, Davies' uniqueness, his singular personality, for his poems do speak him if less bluntly than one of his own verses, "I am the Poet Davies, William."

Davies sang of the little events of life we overlook; he teaches us to cherish life in the incidental. He spoke out firmly against hunger and poverty and unemployment, unkindness, but he did not preach. He pitied, he felt, he loved. He praised the pulse, the heart. He wrote of peace, quiet, knowing turmoil, strife. Adventurer, tramp, he imaged the world he wandered through, observer, one who saw misery, shared it, one who looked upon daisies, awed by the flowers his poems are like. He did "stand and stare." He recreated youth; he recorded the wisdom of aging, and the regret of growing old. A man of joy, rejoicing in so much, he lamented the passing of life.

He wrote his poems of life in well-made sentences, stubbornly, gracefully phrased, unadorned but by the sweetest turns of fancy into charm to smile with us in delight. He knew enough of our joy to endorse its verity, enough of our sorrow to make us poignantly recognizant of our tenderness. What a good man lives through these poems, that heart, the spirit; how lovely are the uses

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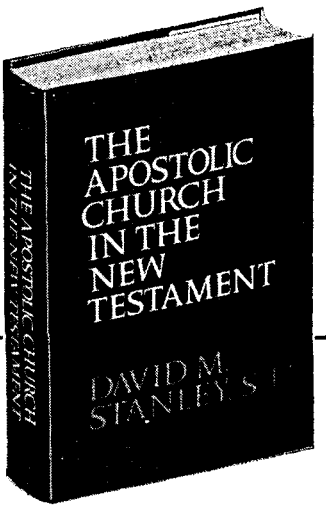

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he gave to words. The poems are him and the estimate of him, our fortunate inheritance, both.

Re-Appraisals: Some Commonsense Readings in American Literature

MARTIN GREEN

W. W. Norton, $4.50

CHARLES ALVA HOYT

There is pleasant irony in the fact that anyone calling for the "commonsense" approach to a subject, whether it be politics, city-planning, water conservation, civil rights or literature, is likely to be thought a quack. The term has been too much in the mouths of reactionaries of late. It is perhaps important, then, to begin by saying that Martin Green is no member of the lunatic fringe, but a sharp-sighted, articulate and argumentative Englishman, one who thinks highly of our literature, and poorly of some of our recent criticism. I suspect that there will be many to agree with him.

The whole business, Prof. Green charges, "is becoming a Tom Tiddler's ground for seekers after buried meanings, an intellectual picnic site where everyone is wearing the Emperor's New Clothes, a great bustling bazaar of symbols and theories and readings and discussions which have lost their relation to the books they allegedly discuss." That may sound like your irascible uncle in Dubuque, only more coherent; but Prof. Green does not dwell long with blanket invective, however sweet. In a series of what he calls "pamphlet-essays," he questions with severity much of our critics' choicest dogma, thus: "Emerson was a highly intelligent man, even if he was a transcendentalist; Hawthorne was not, and was a bad writer, even if he did reject nineteenth-century optimism; Faulkner was a minor talent, even if he did deal in violence and myth; Salinger is a brilliant talent, even if he is 'innocent'."

The question is, can he make out a case for such judgments? I think he can. His image of The Emperor's New Clothes is well chosen; as a visitor watching the parade of our literature with no obligations to any of its dignitaries, he is in a fine position to comment upon its absurdities. And we may as well admit it; they are there. Green's early chapters, for example, touch on one of the best, the Emerson-Hawthorne evaluation—"We have had nearly half a century of anti-Emersonianism, and Hawthorne's reputation is one of the major forms it has taken." Hawthorne he demolishes, with panache, by means of numerous selections from both the man's theory and practice.

Let's be honest—how many of us would pick up the Scarlet Letter for an evening's entertainment? There is no doubt in my mind that Hawthorne is chiefly valuable to us as evidence that we were, even in our youth, a nation tormented by anxieties and complexities. Emerson, on the other hand, is contemptible as the symbol of everything complacent and genteel. Such perverseness is more than a little childish, although Prof. Green is too polite to say so. Apparently we are still trying to justify ourselves in society, for all the world like the spoiled children of a hard-handed old millionaire, whose generous gifts and uncouth accent are a continuous embarrassment.

Later on Prof. Green holds up to ridicule another phenomenon of recent criticism, and to my mind a much more shameful one: the determination to put J. D. Salinger in his place. In an article on American fiction, I recently remarked upon the total inability of the neo-classical critic (I was referring to the New Critics and their hangers-on) to come to grips with Romantic Art. But even that, as Prof. Green shows, cannot explain such wilful nonsense as we have heard: Salinger is a cultist, the founder of an exclusive new school of sensibility; he *is* a gifted "little" writer, a minor talent puffed up by the mob, and so on. The true basis of these evaluations, we are bound to think, is pique, the chief ingredient in the official latter-seventeenth-century view of Shakespeare, another nice little talent who unfortunately wouldn't follow the rules.

As to Faulkner, wherever he may end up, Prof. Green's disparaging estimate of him is certainly closer to the truth than our present inflated opinion. A close, unimpressed study of his "formidable rhetoric" can make him look

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pretty silly, although I would not overlook, as I think Professor Green does, his considerable achievements in the short story. Green does not entirely convince me that Melville's "Romantic" tendencies are bad; and at one point I must disagree with him absolutely, as I think most Americans will: *Huckleberry Finn* is something far more than "a charming children's book."

With all the cavils registered, Professor Green has done us a good turn. We could lament the fact that the job required an Englishman, but that would be missing the point. Let us rather be grateful, and in the spirit of good fellowship, turn our attention to *their* literature.

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CORRESPONDENCE

(Continued from page 111)

which are not so living may perhaps deserve to be revived. In any sphere of education, to establish contemporary fashions of thought as virtually a censor for the great books of the past is a program that assures rapidly diminishing returns from history.

(REV.) JAMES GAFFNEY, S.J.

Catholic C.O.'s

New York City

To the Editors: As there are to this day not a few Catholics under the misimpression that Catholics cannot be conscientious objectors, that the C.O. position is reserved by secular authorities for Quakers and Mennonites, COMMONWEAL's editorial ["Right to Say No?," Oct. 8] comes at a welcome moment.

As you mention the Catholic Peace Fellowship's newly issued booklet, "Can a Catholic Be a Conscientious Objector?," we pass along the information that this publication is available free upon request from the CPF's New York office (5 Beekman St., New York, N.Y. 10038). This is part of the CPF's counseling service program for those interested in the C.O. position.

Dealing with the question of conscientious objection at the recent series of liturgical conferences, Father Robert Hovda (National Liturgical Conference Publications Editor) wondered if the debate shouldn't be moving beyond the question our booklet's title asks:

"Why," he asks, "is it that we are still debating, at least in some quarters, whether or not conscientious objection is a morally permissible Christian stance? Is not the question rather whether military service at the present time and under these conditions is a morally permissible Christian stance? And why, in most quarters, is there no debate at all . . . and no discussion of our national military policy?"

Worthy questions.

JAMES H. FOREST
Catholic Peace Fellowship

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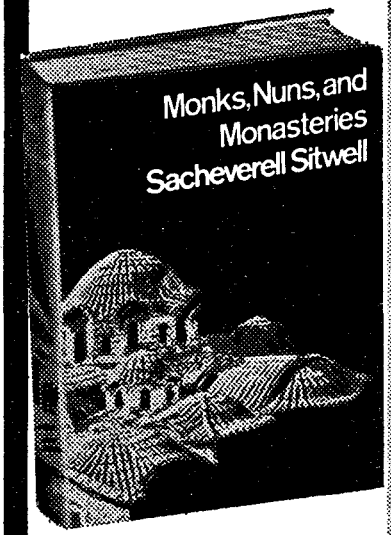

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